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This economic picture indicates that from early childhood, women had engaged in such physical labor that by 18 years of age they had strong muscles and backs through lifting, stooping, and squatting. Since to stop work during pregnancy was construed as laziness, women worked vigorously up to the day of delivery. If a woman were delivered during one of the hectic seasons, she might shorten her post-natal rest to whatever she thought was a safe minimum.

Marriage

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As people of the community often met at the temple, at ceremonies, and at work parties, there too young people met. Unmarried girls went freely and often alone on duties about the community, and also to Minburi to sell vegetables or take a load of paddy to the mill. To temple fairs and such they went in groups. Though parents hoped their children would marry within the community, a few young people "married out."

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Girls were married between 17 and 27 or so, most frequently around 21 to 23. Since boys at 21 might have to serve 2 years in the army, and were urged to spend as well at least a few months in the priesthood, their marriages took place between 22 and 30, most often around 24 or so. Parents were in no hurry to marry off their grown children at the very age when their productivity was funneling wealth back into the family. However, if male help in the family were short, parents were more receptive to suitors. No girl was married against her wishes nor to a stranger.[4] Marriages might be arranged through formal conversations opened by the man's family and carried on through a go-between, but the girl had the final say. A secret agreement between the partners might even precede negotiations. About half of the marriages were elopements, sometimes arranged because negotiations were dragging, sometimes to avoid the higher costs of more formal arrangements. Marriage, though largely based on socio-economic factors (Phillips:62) was not devoid of personal esteem. Sharp (Bang Chan data at Cornell) has a note on the desirable qualities in a husband as viewed by women. "Sexual virility," last on the list, was minimized in relation to such qualities as "religiousness," "wealth," "industriousness," which headed the list.

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4. A person who uses magical means to force an unwilling woman's love "will be born 500 times as a mad dog."

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Seasonal Activities

128 A chart has been prepared to show the climatic conditions in Bang Chan and what people were doing at different seasons (Chart 1). For convenience, the periods covered by the four rounds of the dietary survey (p. 58) are included.

221 132 241 512 771 [illegible] [illegible] 264 [illegible] The year starts with May, the beginning of the rice-year. At this time the rains began to soften the parched ground, and the heat slackened. School re-opened. Farmers turned to plowing, harrowing, raising the seedlings. Both sexes worked about equally in field labor, boys from 14 and girls from about 15 years of age performing tasks according to skill and strength. Everyone was in the field at dawn. The buffalo, but not the farmer, rested through the noonday heat (about 10 a.m. until 2 p.m.) and also on the weekly holy day. Meals were usually eaten about 10 a.m. and after returning from the field at dark. Although two meals a day were usual at other times, at this season, some had a third meal about 2 p.m. If the buffalo were brought home to rest, this meal could be eaten at home, but hired laborers or those working far from home often took with them rice and other foods in a (2)pin-(1)too, or tiered lunch kit.

221 132 [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] With the rains, the canals had filled, so that by June buyers with big rice boats could return. The few farmers who could afford to hold onto a portion of their last year's crop sold it for a better price at this time. Vegetables and fruits which had died in the long drought were replaced, and trees were planted.

241 221 132 In July the heavy transplanting season began. Because of cooperative work habits or hiring out, people worked solidly day after day for two months on their own or on another's fields. It was dawn-to-dark, back-breaking work.

This was an anxious time. The seedlings had to go in at exactly the right time. Water level was only partly controllable. Lack of rain might be remedied by pumping water from the canals but flooding would drown the plants. School 1312 771 857 988 [illegible] vacation was scheduled at this time so both teachers and children could help. Older children might work in the fields, while younger ones, from 8 to 13, and the aged took over the care of babies and toddlers, fished, cooked, gathered food for the family and grass for the buffalo. People knew the crop was subject to drought and flood, pests of rats and worms, destruction by birds or wandering buffalo or duck, and in the end to the mysterious fluctuations of the price of rice on the world market. Moreover, some persons worried about debts, acquired from giving a ceremony or making a capital investment and sometimes from heavy gambling during the rest season.

252 a woman's" (Sharp et al., 1953, p. 88). For instance, the
462 husband cooked when his wife was away from home, e.g. selling in the market or in farm labor, and of course when she was
252 sick or resting after childbirth. The ability of boys as well
887 as girls to cook rice and some of the accompaniments was taken for granted. A girl or boy could cook rice "as soon as he could lift the rice pot," e.g. at 6 or so; by age 12 he could cook a creditable meal. In mid-December, 1952, on the last day of school before vacation, one of us saw committees of school children (aged 7-14 years) preparing food for a special meal, on the school grounds. The variety of dishes prepared and the ease with which the children went about their tasks gave evidence of the home experience these children had had
252 (Hauck, 1953). Responsibility for food preparation increased
883 with age up to about 15 years, after which all available able-bodied family members did field work during the busy seasons (cf. p. 11). Several hours per day were spent in cooking and by middle age, parents were eager to turn this job over to a
891 daughter or daughter-in-law. If they had no daughter, this was an explicit reason for adopting a baby girl.

252 Certain men of eminence, e.g. headmen and elders, would
881 not be asked to cook at all, but as they aged, they might re-
891 turn to the task. One old headman, all of whose children had married and left home, said that he was doing the cooking for
252 2 months because his wife had back trouble. Some dishes were
562 cooked by men only, even when their wives stood by: turtle, frog and cobra curries, for instance. These were also food for men only, suitable to serve at a drinking party.

252 A premium was put on good cooking, and certain women
261 who were noted for their cooking were in great demand for large
268 scale food preparation during the ceremonial season. One farmer planned to send his daughter to learn from such a skilled cook, having in mind the food preparation which would be needed when his sons were old enough to be ordained. Adverse comments might be made if the food did not come up to expectation; thus, a small boy complained that his curry was "too salty," and an old woman said loudly that the curry made by her 16-year old grand-daughter was "not good," although this girl was the only one at home to cook.

Meal Patterns[1] and Preparation of Typical Thai Dishes

252 Food was commonly prepared twice a day, in the morning
264 and late afternoon. The meal pattern was the same for breakfast

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114 1. Suvarnakich (1950) described the Thai diet in a
262 general way and Sharp et al., (1953, pp. 263-274) summarized the small amount of information on diet in Bang Chan obtained during the preliminary study in 1948-49.

storekeeper: about 800-900 liter bottles per month during the 3 months dry season as compared to about 350 bottles per month during the 9 months of the rice season.

Moslems never served liquor at their weddings, cremations, and other auspicious events. Moslem residents occasionally attended Buddhist (l)ngaan in spite of dietary proscriptions that Buddhists did not observe.[1] A medium (spiritualist) commented however that because pig's head was essential for her homage-to-the-teacher rites, some Moslem sick persons preferred to go to the Buddhist temple for treatment. There the priest-practitioner could afford to set up a separate kitchen for his Moslem patients, and so spare them the distress of confronting pork. To one big ordination Moslem guests brought their own food. Buddhists came somewhat more often to Moslem ceremonies.

We do not have enough information to appraise the nutritional significance of food eaten at ceremonies. Some individuals got a great deal of it, others very little. One must remember that the (l)ngaan was not a public but a private event at home, to which guests came on invitation. Although cremations and the teacher-rites of priest-practitioners were held at the temple, and so had a semi-public character, no one who was not invited presented himself for food. Of the participants, the working group undoubtedly received the most food; they were there the longest time, had regular meals, tastings and snacks throughout the (l)ngaan as a whole itself. This group comprised the host, co-sponsors and their immediate kin; other relatives and friends who were asked or who volunteered to help. The feeling was, if one were "very fond" of the host, one volunteered to cook. If less close, one was invited as a guest, but made the usual cash donation. Sociable persons combining skill and energy were invited often and volunteered often, hence spent many days at ceremonies. Young unmarried men and women were asked and liked to be asked to work, for such occasions offered a great chance for fun and flirting.

Different degrees of participation may be estimated from Janlekha's (1955) figures for reported contributions ranging from 30 to 1000 baht in a year. Since a contribution of 5 to 10 baht per (l)ngaan was customary, the villager with the lowest reported contribution probably attended from 3 to 6 ceremonial occasions. Attendance at 100 or more (l)ngaan is unlikely, hence the villager who gave as much as 1000 baht probably made larger contributions per (l)ngaan.

What sort of persons or groups in the village were invited as guests? Every host's list included his older

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1. Moslems were said to resist army service because they were afraid they would have to eat pork.

fishing and selling vegetables, they managed to obtain a fair diet. The father's skill as a masseur was valued especially at periods of heavy farm work, after childbirth, and by the cooks at a ceremonial feast. This brought in from 2 to 12 baht per week.

In Group A, Families 67 and 103 were at the most difficult period of life, with young, dependent children, and housing, land and equipment to be acquired. By great industry, including egg production from a flock of 60 chickens, and by severe "belt-tightening," Household 103 was lifting itself into a propertied position. The parents in Household 67 were shy. One or the other of the two older children often stayed home from school to look after the baby, so that both parents could work. Husband and wife in Household 12 were both very shy, the only ones in the survey group who were at all reluctant to participate. They seemed ashamed of limited food. The wife was frequently ill. In Household 222, the 14-year old daughter often gathered and sold vegetables at Minburi before school in the morning. She might have full charge of the younger children for days at a time. A daughter who worked as a servant in Bangkok contributed 50 baht per month to this household. In Household 215, the activities of the wife as medium were predominant. Pay included food, often cooked, and the free use of 3½ rai of land, as well as cash. Maintenance of a son in school in Bangkok cost about 1000 baht per year plus 60 tang of rice. In Household 2, the elderly wife's services as "boss-buyer and cook" at ceremonials, and as marriage go-between did not bring in cash, but gifts, clothing and much participation in feasts.

All families in the survey group were Thai Buddhists, and 6 of them offered food to priests more or less regularly. On 17 of the 24 survey days when the observer visited these households, food was offered. Two of the 5 families that did not customarily give food to priests, did so on one and two survey days, respectively. In one case food was offered to a son who had been recently ordained. Rice was always included in the food offered, and in 3 of the 20 instances observed rice only was given. The weight of cooked rice given by one family in one day ranged from 185 to 1210 grams, with an average of about 600 grams. In 16 instances, some cooked food such as fish or vegetable curry was given with the rice; in one instance fresh pineapple was given.

Cash Expenditures for Food. - Mean total, and per capita daily cash expenditures for food for survey days, are shown, by household in Table 3. (See Table 2, p. 23 for division of food expenditures for Groups A, B) Although cash expenditures for food varied considerably, the amounts in all cases were small, and approximated figures obtained by Janlekha (1955) for 106 households. Larger consumption of animal products, which were the most expensive items purchased,

APPENDIX A

Description of the Kitchen and Some Notes on Food Preparation in a Relatively Prosperous Household[1]

Friday, May 22, 1953

Arrived at 5:15 a.m. When we reached the house, the mother was holding the dog. The house was dark, and we walked around sleeping babies and children, ... The 15 year old niece who prepares meals here, was already at work. For light she had an oil lamp, a tin of about 1 pt. capacity, with wick. The rice was already measured, but she waited until SS could weigh it, before putting it on to cook. SS used her flashlight to see the scale and her notebook.

The kitchen here has a thatched roof, well smoked, but the walls and "windows" are of woven split bamboo. A sliding wooden "window" can be pushed back to allow access to a broad shelf outside. Here a large pan of pond water is kept, so that dishes may be rinsed and hands rinsed after each operation. Dishes are stacked upside down, on a wooden rack nearby, to dry.

The stove area in the corner has place for one fire, but several places for pots to stand. Downstairs, under the shed near the fish pond, is a larger clay stove, where the niece cooks the rice in the morning (enough for noon as well) and some other items; for example the (3)khii-(2)lag leaves which were cooked last night for use in sour curry this a.m. This probably keeps the kitchen cooler than it would otherwise be. Waste, fish bones, vegetable parings, etc., which are to be given to the chickens, can be thrown below through the space between two floor levels (kitchen and main rooms).

Rice water, coconut water, and food left in the serving bowls when the meal is over, are given to the dogs. A bowl is kept below, near where rice is drained, for dog food. Food left in pots is kept for humans to eat.

Fish caught in the pond are kept alive in pond water, in a water jar. When a fish is wanted, the niece catches one from the jar, stuns it with the back of her knife, and scales and cleans it on a split log nearby (rounded side of log up). The fish is put into a small basket, and the niece

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1. In reproducing these notes, slight changes have been made such as substitution of descriptive terms for personal names which appeared in the original.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

Age	Method	Kinds of Farm Work
13-14	Moderate pressure.	Hauling, weeding, buffalo tending, transplanting, chicken feeding, fishing, household work.
15-16	High pressure.	All kinds of farm work. Harrowing, harvesting, and uprooting (boys only) are started at this age.

By the time the young are 16 years old, they are already reliable farm hands, although they are still not considered competent enough to participate in the cooperative work to which only the best family workers are expected to be sent. By the time they reach 18 years of age, all males and females should be well trained in all kinds of farm work.

According to the Primary Education Law, parents are responsible for sending their children to school at the age of eight. These children are to remain in school until they are over fourteen years old, or until they have passed Pratom IV.[2] Since school hours start at nine and last until three in the afternoon, children of school age are still able to participate in the farm work before or after school hours. Moreover, most rural primary schools including the Bangchan Primary School have adjusted their vacation recesses to the periods when rice farm labor is needed most — from August 16 to September 15 which coincides with transplanting period, and from December 16 to January 15 which coincides with harvesting period. It is during these vacations that the upperclass children are expected to contribute their

2. Primary education is divided into four academic years -- Pratom I, II, III, and IV.